COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"There appears to me to be no new source left; and that, when you have tried all other ways in vain, you "must come again with further additions to the Assessed Taxes, or to the Income Tax."—MR. FRANCIS's Speech on the Budget.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BREWING TAX.——It is with most sincere satisfaction that I have to observe to my readers, that the ministers have given up this odious tax, which would have so multiplied the pretexts of tax-gatherers for intruding into private houses, which would have so increased the number of those tax-gatherers, which would have added so very much to the vexations of the taxing system, that there is no knowing to what consequences it might finally have led. Old George Rose is, I perceive, opposed to the addition made to the Assessed Taxes. This alone would, with me, be no very weak presumption in favour of the measure: but, the measure does not stand in need of George's opposition; for, while it is allowed, that more taxes must be raised, the things to be desired are, that the raising of them should not create new tax-gatherers, new restraints upon the liberty of the subject, and new vexations, and that the weight should not immediately fall upon those the least able to bear it, as in the case of the lower classes on whom the Income Tax has been imposed, but, from whom it is now, I believe, to be taken off. I have only to repeat my hearty approbation of this measure; and, while I congratulate the ministry upon having adopted it, I beg leave again to beseech them to reflect upon the necessity of imposing a heavy tax upon all *sinecures*, *pensions* and *grants*, not bestowed in consequence of real services performed, or real losses sustained, for the good of the country in general. A heavy tax, or large deduction from these, together with a resolute and efficient inquiry into the *expenditure* of the public, and a firm determination to retrench whenever it is practicable, would render new taxes quite unnecessary for many years to come. But, if we go on adding to the taxes; if, though the thing becomes every year more and more difficult to accomplish, we still go on borrowing and taxing, does any man believe it possible, that the war can be carried on, let what will be the terms or the consequence of peace? It is not merely the pressure upon the people, though that is an object well worthy of attention; it is in their ultimate effect upon the questions of peace or war that I most dread the additions made to the taxes. To make peace upon terms that would enable us to diminish our expenses, we must let the enemy see that we are able to continue the war, without evident ruin to our national credit; and, never will he see this; never will he, for one moment, be induced to believe it, while he sees us reduced to such miserable means of providing for the expenses of the year. He does, indeed, see LORD GRENVILLE and SIR JOHN NEWPORT at the head of our financial concerns; and, of course, he must suppose, that there is something very *profound* in contemplation; but, he is too wise a man not to wait for "experience and the evidence of facts," before he believes, that these great political economists have actually placed our affairs upon such a footing as will enable them to order *cash payments to be received at the Bank!*——It is this TAXING part of our present system that forms the only serious obstacle to the schemes, be they what they may, of any minister. As long as new taxes can be found, new loans will be made; and from these new loans, new places, new pensions, and new grants will flow. But, the taxing must stop some time or other; and it must stop, too, some time before it be necessary to have resort to military aid *immediately* employed in the collection of taxes; or, if it do not, the consequences must be dreadful indeed. Therefore, as there appears to be no prospect of a termination to the war; as there appears to be no practicable means left of adding to the amount of the revenue; the only thing remaining to us, is, to *diminish our expenditure*; this does remain to us; and to this our ministers will, I trust, lose no time in resorting.

SLAVE TRADE.——On Tuesday, the 10th instant, Mr. Fox, after a speech of some length, in the House of Commons, introduced and made the following motion:—"That this House, conceiving the African "Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles "of humanity, justice, and sound policy, "will, with all practicable expedition, take

" such measures as shall appear to them ef-
" fectual for the abolition of the said trade
" in such manner, and at such a period as
" may be deemed adviseable "—The debate lasted for several hours, and concluded with a division of 114 for, and 15 against it.—Lord Castlereagh observed, that this motion, a mere declaration of an intention to act, without naming any time, or any particular manner of acting, appeared to him to be of no use, except, perhaps, that of keeping up, for a little longer, the old character of the right honble. mover amongst those who had felt evident disappointment at his conduct since in office.—And, really, what can possibly be the use of this motion, other than the one here spoken of? *That* use, however, it will not be of; for, of all those who have been disappointed at the conduct of Mr. Fox (and great indeed is that number) I have never yet heard of one, who even thought about the *Slave Trade*, every one appearing to have his mind quite sufficiently occupied with seeking for the means of preventing us, ourselves, from becoming slaves, here at home, in our native country; the more especially as the voice of humanity called upon us much more loudly in favour of 1,200,000 paupers of England than in favour of 400,000 negroes of the West-Indies, no one of which negroes is not better fed, is not better off, than any one of those paupers; nay, than any one of the day-labouring men in England.—Mr. Fox will, perhaps, tell us, that he cannot help the miseries of the people of England; that it was not he who brought those miseries upon them; and, that any attempt of his to relieve them would be vain. True, he cannot, all at once, relieve the poor of England; and, let me add, that he *cannot* do what his motion purports relative to the negroes. It was not he who brought these miseries upon the people of England; but, he has applauded the minister who did, and, what is more, he has, on account of the public merits of that minister, voted 40,000l. of the public money to pay his debts. And, besides, as declarations are so cheap, why not move a declaration descriptive of a wish to relieve the miseries of the poor of England? Really, one would imagine, that the hearts of the people here are the only ones that the ministers do not think worth gaining.—But, why bring forward the SLAVE TRADE and leave so many other solemn pledges unredeemed? What are become of all the pledges about PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; about the IRISH CATHOLICS; about the MODE OF GOVERNING INDIA; about the CORRECTION OF ABUSES in the public expenditure? Upon the subject of India there has been made, and is now upon record, a declaration of the House of Commons that has been over and over again violated. Whether Mr. Fox has discovered any very great degree of keenness to punish the violators, I shall not say; but, in the face of that fact, what purpose can it answer to add another declaration to the one *already existing* about the Slave Trade?—The declaration about the Slave Trade is a dead letter. There is not the least prospect of its being *acted upon* for many years; whereas the " emancipation" of the Irish Catholics might take place in a month or six weeks' time. " Parliamentary Reform " might be begun, at least; and, as to the " Mode of " Governing," or rather, of tyrannizing over India, there never was a better opportunity for changing that, than the one which now presents itself; yet, *there*, Mr. Fox tells us, that " when a system is once esta-
" blished, it is, ninety-nine times out of a
" hundred, better to let it remain, though
" with many evils, than to run the risk of
" a change!"——It is perfectly whimsical to have fixed upon this Slave-Trade subject, whereupon to give a proof of consistency, wherein to make a stir and whence to draw forth the fair fruits of patriotic labour, while all the other great principles, so easily acted upon, are suffered to lie fallow. " My dear " Sir," said the English minister to the Ambassador of Bantam, " I will go to the " end of the world to serve you." But, when the Ambassador asked him merely to go to the end of the street to fetch a trunk for him, " the varlet laughed in his " face." There are two motives which may lead to the encountering of difficult things: the one is, the love of that fame which is to be acquired only by achievements: the other is, the desire to obtain credit for an attempt, and to secure, at the same time, an apology for a failure. From which of these Mr. Fox's motion has proceeded I must leave the reader to judge; but, I must say, that, unless the resolution could have been immediately acted upon; or, at least, unless *some* time could have been *named* for acting upon it, the motion does appear to me to be capable of producing nothing but mischief in the West-Indies, and, that too, at a moment the most critical that ever existed for those colonies. If Mr. Fox thinks that the West-India Colonies are a burden to England, and that to get rid of them would be a good thing, then I allow, that he is acting wisely; but, still, even in that case, I would have preferred the direct course, being convinced, that the present mode of proceeding must produce great mis-

chief without the possibility of producing any good at all.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—AMERICA.——To the subjects of dispute, already existing between Great Britain and the United States of America, another has now been added of a nature more serious than any heretofore agitated. The PRESIDENT's proclamation will speak for itself. I shall insert it here, and offer a few short remarks upon the events therewith connected: "Whereas "satisfactory information has been received "that Henry Whitby, commanding a Bri- "tish armed vessel, called the Leander, "did on the 25th day of the month of April "last past, within the waters and jurisdiction "of the United States, and near to the en- "trance of the harbour of New York by a "cannon shot fired from the said vessel "Leander, commit a murder on the body of "John Pierce, a citizen of the United "States, then pursuing his lawful vocations "within the same waters and jurisdiction "of the United States, and near to their "shores, and that the said Henry Whitby, "cannot at this time be brought to justice "by the ordinary powers of the law.—And "Whereas it does further appear that both "before and after the said day, sundry "trespasses, wrongs, and unlawful inter- "ruptions and vexations on trading vessels "coming to the United States, and within "their waters and vicinity, were committed "by the said armed vessel the Leander, "her officers and people, by one other "armed vessel called the Cambrian, com- "manded by John Nairne, her officers and "people, and by one other armed vessel called "the Driver, commanded by Slingsby Simp- "son, her officers and people, which vessels "being all of the same nation were aiding "and assisting each other in the tres- "passes, interruptions and vexations afore- "said.—Now, wherefore, to the end that "the said Henry Whitby may be brought "to justice, and due punishment inflicted "for the said murder, I do hereby enjoin "and require all officers having autho- "rity, civil or military, and to all other "persons within the limits or jurisdiction "of the United States, wheresoever the "said Henry Whitby may be found, "now or hereafter, to apprehend and "secure the said Henry Whitby, and "him safely and diligently to deliver to the "civil authority of the place, to be proceeded "against according to law.—And I do fur- "ther require that the said armed vessel the "Leander, with her other officers and peo- "ple, and the said armed vessels the Cam- "brian and Driver, their officers and people, "immediately and without delay, depart "from the harbours and waters of the "United States. And I do for ever inter- "dict the entrance of all the harbours and "waters of the United States to the said arm- "ed vessels, and to all other vessels which "shall be commanded by the said Henry "Whitby, John Nairne, and Slingsby Simp- "son, or either of them:—And if the said "vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart "as aforesaid, or shall re enter the harbours "or waters aforesaid, I do in that case "forbid all intercourse with the said armed "vessels, the Leander, the Cambrian, and "the Driver, or with any of them, and the "officers and crews thereof, and do prohi- "bit all supplies and aid from being fur- "nished them or any of them. And I do "declare and make known, that if any "person, from, or within the jurisdictional "limits of the United States, shall afford "any aid to either of the said armed vessels, "contrary to the Proclamation, either in "repairing such vessel, or in furnishing her "officers or crews with supplies of any "kind, or in any manner whatsoever, or "if any Pilot shall assist in navigating any "of the said armed vessels, unless it be for "the purpose of carrying them in the first "instance, beyond the limits and juris- "diction of the United States, such person "or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all "the pains and penalties by the laws pro- "vided for such offences: and I do hereby "enjoin and require all persons bearing office "Civil or Military within the United States, "and all others, citizens or inhabitants "thereof, or being within the same, with "vigilance and promptitude to exert their "respective authorities, and to be aiding "and assisting to the carrying this procla- "mation and every part thereof into full "effect.—In testimony whereof, I have "caused the Seal of the United States to be "affixed (L. S.) to these presents, and "signed the same with my hand.—Given "at the city of Washington, the 3d day of "May, in the year of our Lord, one "thousand eight hundred and six, and of "the sovereignty and independence of the "United States the thirtieth.—(Signed) "THOMAS JEFFERSON, By the President. "(Signed) JAMES MADISON, Sec of State."

The ferment, we are told, which had been excited in New-York and other towns, on the death of the American seaman, was beyond any thing the reader can conceive. It was scarcely exceeded by the popular fury of Marat's associates in Paris, when the revolutionary frenzy was at its height there. No Englishman could appear in the streets, but

at the hazard of his life; parties paraded with the American colours hoisted over those of England. Meetings were held to originate resolutions in which England was execrated, and their own government treated with the grossest contempt, for its tardiness in declaring against England. The walls were covered with inflammatory hand bills, the writers of which, with the newspapers attached to the party, stuck at nothing that could fan the popular fury.——All this I, who know them, can easily believe of the mongrel rabble at New-York, who call themselves Americans, but who, for the far greater part, perhaps, have escaped from their creditors or the persons they have robbed in Europe. Very different will, I am certain, have been the feelings of the *people of America* properly so called; and, agreeably with those better feelings, the President seems to have acted.——I wish not to justify, or even to excuse the conduct of the British officers, if they have been guilty of the crime alledged against them. I know, too, that some of them are arrogant enough, seeming to think that they inherit from nature all the power which their King and country have placed in their hands; and, thence, acting very often, for the indulgence of their own passions, without taking into view the interests of their employers. But, I also know, that they frequently meet, in America, with treatment too provoking for men of common spirit to bear. I know, that upon all occasions, the magistracy of New-York have shewn the greatest possible partiality to the enemy's of England; they have, when British sailors have got on shore, protected them against the searches of their ships; they have annoyed our ships in all manner of ways, while they have, in all manner of ways, favoured the ships of the French. All this does not justify the killing of a man, in an American ship, *within the waters of the United States*, unless the American ship *struck the first blow*; but, it is quite enough to make us hesitate, before we believe, that the act of violence *was* committed within those waters, and without justificatory provocation, especially when we reflect, that, to the character for insolence unparalleled in the world, the American *captains* add the character for falsehood equally pre-eminent. I speak, of course, with exceptions; but, the archives of our courts of vice-admiralty will testify for the general truth of my statement.——The lamentations over the body of the dead seaman, and the indignation so loudly expressed against [illegible] who had been the cause [illegible] would have sounded better did we not recollect, that, when, during the last war, American seamen were beaten, flogged, fired at, and, in more than one instance killed, by the *French* ships, not one regular complaint was made! And, I remember, that, when a vessel had been fired upon, when great mischief had been done, and when the French actually came on board and made the Americans *pay for the shot that had been fired at them*, I endeavoured, but *in vain*, to excite in the people of Philadelphia and New-York, some degree of active indignation. I endeavoured to work them up to a petition, or something of that sort; but, so far was I from succeeding, that I was accused of a desire to plunge the nation into war; and, some of the people went so far as actually to propose to send me out of the country, under the *Alien Act!* Now, when I recollect all these things, though I shall not attempt to justify or excuse the English captains, though I very much regret that an American seaman should have been killed by British hands, and though I have the greatest dislike to every act of injustice or severity or even rudeness towards the Americans, I must hesitate before I join in condemning the conduct of those captains. Let us hear *their* account. Let us compare it with the statement of "Mr. De Wit," of New-York, the far greater portion of the public merit of which Mr. De Wit, is, merely that he has always been known for a bitter and sworn enemy of England.—— The conduct of the President has, in this case, been moderate and dignified. He is too wise to plunge the country into war for the purpose of gratifying the hatred of the dominant party at New-York; and, indeed, though his proclamation is founded upon their report and their complaint, it is very evident that he not only perceives the motive by which they are actuated, but that, in addition thereto, he suspects their *veracity*.

India Affairs.——No proceeding can, as was before stated, take place, in the House of Commons, relative to the Oude Charge, until the 18th instant, when it is, apparently, Mr. Paull's intention to call some witnesses to the bar of the House. The Charge itself will be, in part at least, inserted in the present sheet. The remainder will follow; and, it is my intention, under the head of Oude Charge, to put upon record every thing material, whether in support, or in resistance of the charge, which shall occur in the House of Commons; it being, in my opinion, of great importance to the character and the interest of the nation, that this case should be fully and fairly laid before the

world.——In the mean while several additional papers have been moved for on both sides; and, amongst others, a letter written in India by Mr. PAULL approving of the conduct of Marquis Wellesley. The following is the report, taken from the COURIER newspaper, of what was said by Sir Arthur Wellesley and Mr. Paull, in the House of Commons, on the 10th instant, upon the subject of the letter here spoken of: "Sir "ARTHUR WELLESLEY moved, that there "be laid before the House, an Extract from "the proceedings of the Governor General "at Bengal, in the public department, on "the 10th of March, 1803, being a Copy "of a Letter from Mr James Paull, dated "December the 1st 1802; and the Answer "thereto from the Secretary to the Govern-"ment, dated March the 10th 1803. "(The Hon. Baronet read a part of Mr. "Paull's Letter, in which he spoke of the "wise, liberal and enlightened policy "which had distinguished every measure "of Marquis Wellesley's Administration). "After a few words from Mr. Paull, who "allowed that the letter had been written "by him, but who stated that it was six "weeks after his return to Lucknow, from "England, the motion was agreed to,"—The defence must be very bad, if it stand in need of such means as this. Would any one, let me ask, think of answering me, upon the subject of Mr. Pitt's conduct as a minister, by telling me, that I praised Mr. Pitt as a minister in 1800, just after my return to England? But Mr. Paull now condemns in toto, an administration, which, in toto, he approved of in 1802; and just so have I acted with regard to the administration of Mr Pitt; but, I defy any one to shew that I have herein discovered any want of principle or of consistency. I was not, in 1800, acquainted with the facts that I am now, and long since have been acquainted with. I had, in 1800, been made acquainted with only just what Mr. Pitt and his press chose to let me know. Mr. Paull did, indeed, in returning to India, in 1802, find Marquis Wellesley in possession of Oude; but, did he know the *means*, by which that possession had been obtained? *Could* he know the means, and that, too, in six weeks after his arrival in the country? In time he did hear much about those means; but, I will venture to say, that he never was fully acquainted with them till the Oude Papers were put into his hands in consequence of his own motions. Yes, it must be a bad case, indeed, if a letter of the accuser, written under such circumstances; a letter of *compliments*, written to a man whom every one complimented; very bad must be the case, if such a letter, so written, be thought of any use in the *defence!* Let us hope that Marquis Wellesley has something much better than this to urge in his defence. Let us hope, that he has in reserve, some positive instructions to warrant his conduct towards the Nabob Vizier of Oude; or, some proof that the Nabob Vizier violated the treaty made with him by SIR JOHN SHORE, in 1798; for, unless the Marquis can produce something of this kind, I am persuaded that a complimentary letter from a private individual (however highly distinguished for probity and honour that individual might be) will have but little effect in effacing from the minds of foreign nations, the impressions that must necessarily have been produced by the documents now before parliament and the world, relative to the transactions in OUDE.

SOMERSETSHIRE ELECTION.——A contest for the vacant seat in the representation of this county (a vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. DICKINSON) has just begun. The candidates are MR. ACLAND of Fairfield, and MR. LETHBRIDGE of Bridgewater. MR. ACLAND is Chairman of the General Quarter Sessions of the county; and, the principal cause of the anger that seems to prevail in the county, is, that Mr. ACLAND, who had canvassed in August last, upon the prospect of an approaching vacancy, did, in April last, having in the interim become Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, make a formal resignation of his pretensions to a seat for the county, and this upon the ground, that such seat would be *altogether incompatible with the situation of Chairman*. The paper addressed to his friends upon this occasion, is a most valuable one; not as relating merely to the present occasion, but, as containing principles, the application of which to other cases may be of the utmost importance to the nation in general. The question, how far *magistrates*, especially if high in point of power, should interfere in elections, or be eligible by the popular voice, has been a subject of discussion, especially in the County of Middlesex, MR. ACLAND, in a manner the most satisfactory, and in a style the most happily adapted to the matter, settled the point. I shall insert the whole of the paper, and then add a few remarks upon what has occurred since the date of it. "Upon the most ma-"ture and grave deliberation, on the effects "of county representation attaching on the "Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, MR. "ACLAND is convinced that no political ob-"ject, by which the public opinion might

" be courted, or feared, should be enter-
" tained by a Chairman.—In the discharge
" of such a sacred trust as that of the chair,
" the mind of the person holding it should
" be disinterested and independent; should
" be disengaged from the pursuit and con-
" templation of any situation, the attain-
" ment of which is to be sought for through
" the medium of popular opinion; and the
" possession of which must be maintained
" by such conciliating endeavours to please,
" as might not always be consistent with
" those principles, which should invariably
" predominate in the breast of a judicial
" character.——In order to prevent any ap-
" prehension of influence, and the possibi-
" lity of its action, on the mind of a person
" in the high official situation of chairman,
" it would be prudent to look to the jealousy
" with which the constitution has protected
" the establishment of the judges, whose
" independence and uprightness are essen-
" tial to the impartial administration of jus
" tice, and form one of the best securities of
" the rights and liberties of the subject; and
" guard by equal jealousy, the character and
" office of chairman, from any temptations
" or apprehensions which might by possibi-
" lity arise from the hope or fear of popular
" opinion.——Whoever considers the judi-
" cial character of a chairman, his power,
" his respectability, and his duty, in the
" court in which he presides, he must wish
" that he, like the judges, should be inde-
" pendent; and that the energies of his
" mind should be free from the pressure of
" every species of influence, or bias, by
" which the sources of justice might be pol-
" luted, and the laws partially administer-
" ed.——The momentous consequences of
" these reflections, arising not from imagi-
" nary theories, but from conclusions drawn
" from observations on facts as they have
" occurred. are so strongly felt by MR. AC-
" LAND, that he is compelled to acknow-
" ledge they have made an indelible impres-
" sion on his mind; and produced a de-
" cided conviction that no Chairman of the
" Quarter Session can discharge his duty,
" with that ease, integrity, and uprightness
" which he ought, if county representation
" be an object of his desire, either from the
" favour of the public, or the incentive of
" his own ambition. And that any means
" tending to unite the representation of the
" county with the office of the chair, would
" be incompatible with the general interests
" of the former, and would be dangerous
" and inconsistent with the administration
" of justice in the latter.——MR. ACLAND
" therefore, requests to lay these considera-
" tions before his friends; these have pro-
" duced the unalterable determination in
" his mind, to give up all thoughts and pre-
" tensions of looking to the representation
" of the county in case of a vacancy.——
" He desires his friends to accept his most
" grateful thanks for the very flattering tes-
" timonies of their opinion, favour, and
" esteem; and to receive the most solemn
" assurances, that he has been solely in-
" fluenced in this measure by the serious
" conviction that it would be dishonourable
" and criminal in him to look toward an ob-
" ject, neither the pursuit nor attainment
" of which can be sanctioned by his con-
" science, or justified by those principles
" which he regards as paramount to all other
" considerations.——FAIRFIELD.——*April*
" 19, 1806."——Now, who will not la-
ment to hear, that this gentleman, after all
this, should have been persuaded to offer
himself as a candidate for this very seat in
parliament?——It is stated, in a hand-bill
now before me, dated at BATH, 10th of June,
1806, that his friends have had great diffi-
culty in overcoming his scruples; and, that,
if he should be elected, he will *resign the post
of Chairman*. But, does not the reader at
once perceive, that this is not even a salvo;
for that, though he will not now retain the
chair in order to perpetuate the seat, he
scruples not to pursue the seat while pos-
sessed of the chair, though he has positively
declared, that, being in the chair, it would
be " dishonourable and criminal in him to
" *look toward* the seat, neither the *pursuit*
" nor attainment of which can be sanctioned
" by his *conscience*."——Aware of the
weakness of their ground, his friends, in the
hand-bill above referred to, have had re-
course to *casuistry*, of which I will here give
MR. WINDHAM a specimen:——" But
" in point of argument, let us consider the
" force of certain declarations even when
" sanctioned by the *solemnity of an oath*.
" Canonists and other moral writers, of the
" highest authority, have laid it down as an
" incontrovertible position treating of the
" validity of *promissory oaths*; that " No
" such oath is obligatory the nature of which
" is to *prevent the performance of our duty,
" or even any comparatively greater good*."
" " Indeed," says one of those writers,
" " it would be absurd to suppose that the
" Almighty will admit of any appeal to
" him, by which we might be *restrained*
" from serving him in the most perfect
" manner in our power." With respect to
" all such *promissory oaths*, we are taught
" that it was wrong to make them, and
" that it would be wrong again to *attempt*

" *to observe them. The immutable law of* " *God is paramount to all subsequent obli-* " *gations we may take upon ourselves, when-* " *ever these appear to militate against each* " *other.*" !!!——The word or two that I have room for I will address to MR. WINDHAM; and I do it, Sir, because the paper I have just quoted was *owned* by a person who is now become a great attendant upon you; because this person has been a prime mover in inducing MR. ACLAND to depart from a purpose and from principles which I know you must applaud; because this person uses *your* name in the endeavours which he is making to carry his point; because your name is in every one's mouth as connected with the reasoning which has been employed to seduce MR. ACLAND from his resolution; and, lastly, because I know, that, if there be one man, who, above all others in the world, abhors such casuistry, *that man is yourself*..... But, what I have to address to you upon the subject must be deferred till my next.——*Bath, Thursday, June* 12, 1806.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE HONITON ELECTION, JUNE 9, 1806.

The new writ for a member to serve in parliament for this borough was moved for in the House of Commons, on Monday, the 2d instant. The Sheriff's precept was received on Wednesday, the 4th; and, on the same day, notice was given by the Portreeve, that the election would be holden on Monday the 9th.—Mr. BRADSHAW, the member who had vacated his seat, in consequence of his having accepted of the office of *Teller of the Exchequer* in Ireland, set out from London on Sunday, the 1st instant, and, having canvassed the borough, had a *large dinner* at the rector's, the Rev. Doctor Honeywood (who has lately been appointed *one of the chaplains to his royal highness the Prince of Wales*), to which dinner many of the electors were invited.—Mr. COBBETT did not arrive in the borough until late in the day on Saturday, the 7th.—On the evening of Sunday the 8th, LORD COCHRANE arrived with several gentlemen in two post chaises and four. On Monday, the 9th, the proceedings began by the Portreeve's reading the writ, the acts of Parliament, &c. upon a platform in the middle of the borough. After which, the candidates addressed the electors in the following order, and as nearly as could possibly be collected in the following words.

MR. BRADSHAW.—Gentlemen; as I have had so many opportunities of addressing you individually, it would be useless now to take up much of your valuable time, particularly as your patience will, most probably, be pretty well tried by the gentleman who comes here for the express purpose (for I can see no other rational purpose that he has) of making a speech to you. Since you last did me the honour to return me to parliament, my Sovereign has been graciously pleased to appoint me to an office of great trust in Ireland; and, that this circumstance has not lessened your confidence in me, has been most satisfactorily proved by the kind reception I have met with from all my old friends; and from many, very many, of those whose suffrages I was not before so happy as to obtain. My principles, gentlemen, are, and shall remain for ever unaltered. I shall always support every measure that I think conducive to the good of my country, and shall always oppose every measure of a contrary description. As to the opposition that I am to meet with at this poll, gentlemen, it will, I believe, be rendered *very insignificant*, by your kindness and alacrity; and, though I have, of course, nothing to say as to the views of the gallant and noble lord, whom I am surprised to find here as an opponent, I have too much confidence in your good sense, gentlemen, to suppose that I have any thing to apprehend from my other opponent, who has had recourse to means so new and extraordinary to cultivate your friendship; and who, though he has been several days in the borough, has not, I believe, thought it consistent with his lofty notions of self-importance to solicit the vote or interest of one single gentleman amongst you. Gentlemen, I commit my cause to your hands; I rely confidently upon your good sense not only for a decided support, but for a speedy termination to a contest so unexpected, and, on the part of my opponents, I trust, so entirely unavailing.

LORD COCHRANE.—Gentlemen; the very short time that I have had, has completely prevented me from gratifying my wishes by a personal and respectful application to each individual elector; but, gentlemen, the very flattering reception I met with at my entrance into your respectable borough, and the numerous instances of public spirit which I have since witnessed in this favourite spot of the most favoured of counties, encourage me to hope, that my cause is not so very desperate as the gentleman who has just spoken seems to consider it. Gentlemen, any little merit that I may have been so fortunate as to acquire in the performance of my public duty, I shall certainly not put in competition with any merits, of any sort,

of Mr. Bradshaw. The greater part of my life has been spent in the toils of the sea; but, those toils have become pleasures, when I reflected that they might tend to the security and the honour of this happy land, and to the preservation of those inestimable liberties, to exercise the most important of which, you, gentlemen, are this day assembled. To preserve these liberties unimpaired shall be the business and the pride of my life; and, gentlemen, AS A PLEDGE THAT I WILL MAKE THESE EFFORTS PURELY FOR THE GOOD OF MY COUNTRY, I GIVE YOU MY WORD OF HONOUR, THAT I NEVER WILL ACCEPT OF ANY SINECURE OR PENSION, OR ANY GRANT OF THE PUBLIC MONEY, AND THAT I NEVER WILL ASK OR RECEIVE ANY SUCH FOR ANY PERSON WHATEVER, THAT MAY BE IN ANY WAY DEPENDENT UPON ME.

Mr. COBBETT.—Gentlemen; the Address which I have caused to be circulated amongst you contains so full an expression of the principles, upon which I stand here, that I shall not occupy much of your time, and keep you long in this burning sun, with any addition to what you have read in that Address; thinking it necessary merely to repeat, in terms the most explicit, and with heart the most sincere, that I have, in this undertaking, never been, for one single moment, actuated by private interest or by personal ambition. I have not waited upon any of you, gentlemen, in the way of what is called canvassing; and this omission, Mr. Bradshaw has endeavoured to make you believe, has arisen from a want of respect towards you; upon which insinuation, coupled with his printed and published assertion, that I had "railed at you," I must beg you to indulge me with a few words. Gentlemen, it was because I *did* respect you, that I did not insult you with a mock familiarity, with hypocritical smiles, with cringing and with fawning; it was because I did respect you; it was because I sincerely regarded you as my countrymen; it was because I would shew the same face to-morrow that I shew you to-day; it was because I hated the thought of seeing you degraded below the character that I wish you all to sustain;—these were the reasons that prevented me from attempting what is called a canvass. And, as to "*railing* at you," gentlemen, what should induce me to rail at you? I did, it is true, leave the world room to *fear*, that a few, a very few, and possibly only one of you, would be found to sanction the great principle upon which I had ventured to stand. But, I did, at the same time, express my confident *hope*, that you would, in very great numbers stand forth to sanction that principle; and, gentlemen, as you do not so stand forth, the fault, if any, is yours, not mine. If my principle be good, it is your fault for not sanctioning it; if it be good for nothing, it is no "*railing*," to say that you will not sanction it. But. who is the man, from whom proceeds this charge of railing at you? who is the man that has taken such uncommon pains, and that has resorted to such unmanly means, of exciting such a clamour as should drown my voice on this day, and thereby keep from your ears the dreaded truths, which he knows must, first or last, here or elsewhere, produce effect? who is this man; and what has *he* said of you? has *he* never railed at you, gentlemen? has *he* always treated your name with respect? What I have said of you, I have said to your face; or, which is the same thing, I have subscribed my name to it, and I do now beg to be understood as repeating it every word. But he has chosen a very different course; and ashamed of myself should I be did he not. He, gentlemen, has said of you what I will now tell you; and while I tell it you, I beg you to believe, that I participate not in his contemptuous opinion of you, and that I deeply lament, that there should ever have been any foundation for his statements. Here, *at Honiton*, he calls you *gentlemen*; he has just now called you his *kind friends*; he has, as well as he could stammer it out, talked of the *happiness* and the *honour* of representing you; but, *in London*, gentlemen, he talks in a different strain of you; there, gentlemen, in a message sent to me by Mr. Robson, he said, in order to dissuade me from attempting to oppose him, that nothing but *money* would do at Honiton; that he had given you *six guineas* each for the last election, and was to give you *two guineas* each for this election, the *truth* of which I am exceedingly sorry to have heard confirmed since my arrival in this place; but, he has added, gentlemen, that he means to secure a seat by means of you for the next seven years, and that, *then, you may go to the devil for him;* besides which, he has recently said, even in the entrance to that very House of Commons, whereinto by your voice he was sent, that *you were the most corrupt rascals in the world!* This, gentlemen, is railing, indeed; and, if you, after this statement, for the truth of which I pledge my word, re-elect him, be the everlasting shame and dishonour upon your heads.—No, gentlemen, I have never railed at you. It is not in my nature to cast disgrace upon my

countrymen; every feeling of my heart pleads against it, while no one feeling of his heart can be expected so to plead. I was born and bred amongst you; he was not: I have been a partaker in all your labours; he has never partaken either in your labours or your cares: I have property that must be affected by every thing that affects your property or your labour; and, I sincerely believe, that he has not a brick or a tile, or a foot of land of his own in the kingdom: there is every reason that can be imagined for me to sympathize in all your sufferings; while, from the very nature of his pursuits in life, it is his interest to augment and to perpetuate those sufferings. With this view of the subject it was, that I offered myself to you, after having, in vain, endeavoured to find some other independent man to give you an opportunity of rescuing yourselves from the hands of this Sinecure Placeman; and, my principle, which I now repeat, was this; that, unless those who are invested with the power of returning members to parliament, will determine to return such only as will make a declaration to forego all profit, either to themselves or their family, arising out of the public money, the House of Commons will never be such as to support the measures which are now absolutely necessary to the preservation of our liberties and our independence.—Mr. Bradshaw has, in justification of his acceptance of his sinecure place, told you, gentlemen, that it would give him great pain, if he thought that this addition to his fortune would add to the distress of his constituents; but that he would have you remember, that this place is not at all connected with the revenue of THIS *part of the United Kingdom*. This, for want of breath, I suppose, he has not told you *here*, but in a publication signed with his name; and, being fairly explained, his meaning is this: "I do prey upon some-"body, I allow; yes, I do prey upon the "people; but, it is not upon *you*; it is "upon the people of another part of the "kingdom; it is upon the *Irish*;" who, observe, are his own *countrymen!* But, if you were base enough not to be shocked at a sentiment so unnatural, you ought not to be left in the dark as to the state of the fact, which is, that this declaration is a sheer deceit; a low and contemptible subterfuge; for, though I am perfectly willing to give Mr. Bradshaw credit for ignorance as profound as that of which any human being ever could boast, he must know, that, of the total amount of his sinecure salary, the people of England pay *fifteen* parts out of *seventeen*; so that, if this salary amount to 3,400 pounds a year, we, the people of England, pay the 3,000, and the remaining 400 are wrung from the hard hands of his own countrymen, the Irish, whom, when he goes there, he will, perhaps, console by reminding them, that *they* pay only two seventeenths of his salary, and that the rest is paid by the English, and amongst others, by those whom he has called the "corrupt "rascals" of Honiton.—But, gentlemen, there is, for us as well as for his own countrymen, one general consolation; namely; that he will, as he has told you, *resign* his place, whenever the keeping of it shall be inconsistent with his principles; and, he adds, by way of backing this promise, that the place, which he has now obtained, was held by *his father* and *his grandfather*. Now, gentlemen, this last might have been a very good argument to convince you that place-hunting ran in the blood of the family, and that he never would quit his hold until life quitted him; but, as an argument to convince you, that he would make the tenure of the place depend upon the preservation of his principles, it is, surely, the very worst that ever was conceived even in a mind like his.—As to the sincerity of these promises, relative to the future, you have, however, pretty good means of judging in his assertions as to the past. He has told you, in his printed paper, that he did *not* vote for the BREWING TAX, and that *you know* his opinion about that tax. The tax, thanks to the ministers themselves and to other persons than Mr. Bradshaw, is, for the present, given up; but, as to his assertion, it is, not to denominate it by a shorter and more harsh term, a most paltry subterfuge; for, gentlemen, the bill for imposing the tax could not be brought in without *a vote* of the House to give leave to bring it in; that vote was given after many members had spoken against it, and, observe me well, and let him contradict me if he can, he, upon that occasion, sat at the back of the minister, and there he gave his vote *for* the tax, even including the Exciseman part of the plan. He did not *speak* in favour of the tax: no, gentlemen, but, the whole of the parliamentary eloquence of this your representative is comprised in two short words; AYE and NO, *aye* for every proposition that tends to his profit, and *no* for every proposition that tends to the lightening of your burdens, or the preserving of your liberties. But, gentlemen, his inability to utter six coherent words at a time, must not excuse him on this occasion, because he has printed and published the equivocating assertions upon which I have

been remarking. Not, however, that I accuse him of *writing* these papers, and for this plain reason, because I know that he cannot; but, I do accuse him of having employed the pen of some JESUIT; and, [*looking round towards the group at the back of Mr. Bradshaw*], I beg you to believe, gentlemen, that there are Jesuits in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic church. But, as to *opposing* any measure of any minister, gentlemen, I hope you do not believe, that such a thing will ever be attempted by this sinecure placeman. He knows, gentlemen, he well knows, that he dares not, and that he never will dare to make such an attempt. When he tells you that he will resign his place, if the keeping of it should be inconsistent with his principles; he is speaking again from his Jesuitical prompter; for his sole principle, gentlemen, being to keep his place, there is, of course, nothing but the giving up of his place that can ever be inconsistent with his principle; and, gentlemen, as to *resigning*, when you see a Bradshaw voluntarily quit a place by the means of which he is able to prey upon the public, then expect to see the kites quit the tops of the trees and come and pick grain and cluck about your yards along with your hens and your chickens.—Now, gentlemen, by way of conclusion, give me leave again to remind you of the declaration with which I introduced myself to your notice, and in which I stated to you that my motive was not private interest or personal ambition, but an anxious desire to set an example of public-spirit and disinterestedness in those who should in future offer themselves for your suffrages; and, of the sincerity of this declaration, I shall, I hope, give you a convincing proof, when I now tell you, that, in consequence of the frank and specific declaration of the noble and gallant Officer who now stands before you, I am desirous of yielding to him whatever pretensions I may have had. Mr. Bradshaw, gentlemen, with that sort of courage which, in such a man, is always inspired by numbers and by noise on his side, seems to triumph at what he deems my want of success; but, gentlemen, he does not look far enough; if he did he would see that I have *succeeded*; completely succeeded; I have succeeded in giving you an opportunity of choosing a man of principles directly the contrary of his; I have succeeded in making an *election*, for where there is but one candidate there is no *choice*; I have succeeded in bringing you here this day, gentlemen; and, what I shall always be proud of, I have succeeded in bringing Lord Cochrane to present himself to you. If you reject him, the fault is not mine; and, if you still cling to Mr. Bradshaw, after what you now know, all that I can say is, much good may he do you!

MR. BRADSHAW.—Gentlemen; all that I shall say in answer to what Mr. Cobbett has said about my railing at you, is, that I never sent any message to him in my life; that I never had any communication, and that I never will have any communication with him, or any of his associates; that the man, who has now accused me of abusing you, is a *convicted libeller*; that I myself was in the court of justice and saw him convicted; that he has now told you that he *brought* Lord Cochrane here, though the noble Lord says that he came of his own accord. And this, gentlemen, is every word I shall say in answer to the long and fine speech of the great Mr. Cobbett.

MR. COBBETT.—Gentlemen, there are many persons here who insist that I shall not reply to Mr. Bradshaw, because I do not mean to call for any poll in my behalf; but, gentlemen, if you wish to get out of the heat of the sun I recommend you to give me a hearing; for reply I will, before we part. [*Order was restored*]—As to the *bringing* of Lord Cochrane here, gentlemen, I appeal to you, whether my words imported any thing more, than that I had *brought* him here in the same way that I had brought *you* here, that is to say, by the making of a stand, and by the promulgating of my address to you, which his lordship read at Plymouth?—As to my character, gentlemen, a *convicted libeller* Mr. Bradshaw had denominated me in one of his printed papers, and to that denomination he owes the well-merited chastisement under which you have just seen him writhing; but, gentlemen, what must you think of the candour and of the "*high birth*," of which this gentleman has, in print, boasted to you; when you are told, that the ministers who have given this man his place, have given a pension (I do not say improperly) to the writer of the libel he alludes to; when you are told that one of those ministers, his benefactors, and that, too, one of the most distinguished and most honourable of men, has, in open parliament described me as meriting a statue of gold, for services rendered to my country? All this Mr. Bradshaw knows very well; he knows, gentlemen, that I am an honourable and an incorruptible man; he knows that my character, both public and private, is without spot or blemish; he knows that I am no Swindling Gambler, no Treacherous Friend, no Convicted Adulterer; all this he well

knows, gentlemen, and, when you have had time to reflect upon his conduct of this day, I leave you to form an impartial judgment between him and me.

LORD COCHRANE,—Gentlemen, I was brought here by no person; I was induced to do myself the honour of presenting myself to you by the public address of Mr. Cobbett, which I read at Plymouth; and I have now only to add, that if you do me the honour to elect me, I give you my word, that I NEVER WILL (EXCEPT IN THE WAY OF MY PROFESSION,) RECEIVE A SHILLING OF THE PUBLIC MONEY, EITHER FOR MYSELF OR ANY ONE DEPENDENT UPON ME. My constant endeavour shall be to be useful to my country in general, and to this borough in particular; and I am, besides, extremely anxious to be able to point out some ENORMOUS ABUSES, which, from my own observation, I know to exist.

Here the Portreeve having asked, whether any one demanded a poll, Lord Cochrane demanded it; and, as there were no hustings prepared for taking the poll, the proceedings were adjourned until the next day (Tuesday) at ten o'clock.

ARTICLES OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE NABOB VIZIER OF OUDE.

That Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley was appointed, constituted, and actually became a servant of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, in the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the year of the reign of His Majesty the thirty-seventh. That the office which he was appointed to fill was that of Governor General of Bengal, and subsequently of Captain General of all the King's and Company's Forces serving in the British Territories in the East-Indies. That he arrived and took possession of the government committed to his charge, in the month of May 1798; and that he continued to fill, and to exercise the powers of, the said Office and Offices, until the month of August 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles Marquis Cornwallis.—That Oude is an independent principality in in the peninsula of India, adjoining on the one side to the British territories, being in extent somewhat larger than England and Wales; having many large and populous cities, amongst which is Lucknow, the present capital, exceeding in number of inhabitants London and Westminster together; and containing, in the whole principality, a population of nearly six millions of souls. That the government is monarchical in form, and absolute in the person of the sovereign, whose title is that of Nabob Vizier; who had under him, previous to the spoliation and extortion of Marquis Wellesley, a high and opulent nobility; whose court exhibited every mark of splendor, and every proof of reverence and devotion to the sovereign; whose jewels alone were worth four millions of pounds sterling; whose retinue was so numerous, that he was sometimes attended with five hundred elephants, richly caparisoned, the whole number of his elephants and stable horses amounting to several thousand; and whose army consisted of more than thirteen thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, exclusive of artillery, and exclusive also of an armed police That the principality of Oude abounds in fertile lands, and yields (besides those sorts of grain which are common to England) cotton, indigo, rice, sugar and many other valuable commodities. That the manufactories, previous to the spoliations of Marquis Wellesley, were extensive, and the reports thereof great, both in quantity of goods and in amount of value; and that the revenues of the country were abundant, and daily increasing. That the mode of raising the revenues of Oude has grown out of the nature of the government; according to the laws and usages of which, the sovereign, that is to say, the Nabob Vizier, is the sole and exclusive owner of the lands, there being in the country no property but that which is derived from the profits of the taxes farmed out or let by him, and collected by his authority, and, if need be, by the aid of his troops. That the great renters or farmers-general of the taxes, are called Aumils, of whom there are about twenty in number, and to whom the taxes of counties or portions of the country are let; the two principal Aumils being Almas Ali Cawn and Mirza Mehindy, the former having the farm of one-third and the latter of one-fourth of the revenues of the whole country. That there is another class of renters or farmers of the taxes under the Aumils, called Zemindars, a superior class of whom are also distinguished by the name of Rajahs, who rent of the Aumils the taxes of their several townships or villages, each Zemindar being, however, in such his minor district, a sort of hereditary feudal chieftain, having his family, his clan, and generally a fortress to defend himself against the Aumil, in case of a quarrel arising from the oppression of the latter, or from any other cause. That from the ryots or husbandmen, and manufactures

(which character is generally united in the same person) the taxes are collected by their respective Zemindars. That the rent of the taxes is fixed by agreements annually made, first between the Nabob Vizier and the Aumils, who are besides great nobles, composing a part of his court, and, except in the season of collecting, residing in the capital; next between the Aumils and the Zemindars from whom the former obtain as high a rent as they can prevail on the latter to give; and, lastly between the Zemindars and their ryots, to each of whom is left out of the produce of his labour, the means wherewith to subsist in a greater or less degree of ease, there being, according to the laws and usages of the country, no possibility of his acquiring any thing to which the name of property can apply. That, from such a state of existence, so degrading in the eyes of Britons, it became a British Governor and commander (if at all justified in interfering) to endeavour to exalt the people of Oude; but that, as it will hereinafter appear, the aforesaid Marquis Wellesley, after having under pretences the most groundless, encroached upon and extended his sway over the principality of Oude, did upon the people thereof, impose burdens greatly surpassing any tha thad ever been imposed even by the most oppressive of their native Sovereigns, their Aumils, or their Zemindars.—That the British connection with Oude began in the year 1765, under the governor generalship of Robert Lord Clive, by the treaty of Allahabad, being a treaty of peace, and of defensive alliance between the East India Company and the then reigning sovereign, Sujah ul Dowlah; stipulating, amongst other things, that, "in case "the dominions of his Highness Sujah ul "Dowlah shall at any time hereafter be at- "tacked, the English Company shall assist "him with forces according to the "exigency of his affairs and that in such "case the extraordinary expence of the "forces so employed, shall be defrayed by "him;" the said treaty, in form, language, and tenor, fully shewing, that the said Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, was to all intents and purposes, the sovereign of a state perfectly independent. That in 1768, by a treaty made at Benares, between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, an explanatory clause was added to the treaty of Allahabad, respecting the number of troops to be in future maintained by his highness, and confirming the said treaty of Allahabad.—That in the year 1773, under governor generalship of Warren Hastings, esquire, a treaty of cession and of subsidy was made at Benares between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah; by which treaty, were ceded for ever to the Vizier and his heirs, three considerable districts of country, then belonging to or claimed by the Company; in consideration of which it was stipulated, on the part of the Nabob Vizier, that he should pay to the English Company, at different periods there stated, fifty lacks of sicca rupees; and in a second article it was stipulated, in order to prevent disputes concerning the payments to be made by the Nabob Vizier for expenses of the company's troops, which might be called to march to his assistance, that the expense of a brigade should be computed at two lacks ten thousand sicca rupees (or £. 26,250) per month, such brigade to consist of two battalions of Europeans, six battalions of sepoys, and one company of artillery: and further it was stipulated, that "exclusive of the above-men- "tioned sum, no more shall, on any ac- "count, be demanded from him; and should "the company and the English chiefs have "occasion to send for the troops of the Na- "bob Vizier, the company and the English "chiefs shall also pay their expences in the "like manner." That in the year 1775, upon the death of Sujah ul Dowlah, Warren Hastings, esquire, being still governor general as aforesaid, a new treaty was made at Lucknow, between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, son and successor of Sujah ul Dowlah, by which treaty it was stipulated that the said Nabob Vizier, for the aid and assistance of the English troops when stationed with him, should pay monthly for the charges of a brigade from the time that the said troops should enter his territories, at his request, until their return, the sum of two lacks sixty thousand sicca rupeees (or 32,500l.); and, as the subsidy above stipulated for related particularly to the defence of possessions in the vicinity of the British territories, it was further stipulated in a subsequent article, that "if the aforesaid Nabob Vizier shall ever re- "quire the aid or assistance of the English "Company for the defence of any other of "his countries, he will fix something for the "Company in proportion to the service;" and in conclusion this solemn declaration was made, "The English Company, and "all the English Sirdars (or Chiefs) engage "to perform whatever articles are now mu- "tually settled; and in the future, during "the life of the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul "Dowlut, they will not, in any respect or "manner, make requests of any thing new, "contrary to the tenor of this treaty; and

" this the parties mutually swear according " to their respective faiths." That in the year 1781 Warren Hastings, esquire, being still the governor general as aforesaid, another treaty between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, was made at Chunar: That previous to the making of this treaty, the subsidiary force having been found unequal to the purposes of external defence and internal tranquillity, other troops had been from time to time introduced, under the denomination of sibbendies, temporary brigade, &c. &c. so that the expences of the military department became a burthen too great for the finances of the country to support; wherefore, by the treaty herein last named, it was declared and agreed, that the said Nabob Vizier " having repeatedly and urgently represen- " ted that he is unable to support the ex- " pences of the temporary brigade, cavalry, " and English officers, with their battalions, " as well as other gentlemen, who are now " paid by him, under the denomination of " sebundy, &c. &c. and having made sun- " dry requests to that and other purposes, " and as the constancy and firmness of his " alliance with the Company entitle him to " to every consideration and relief that may " depend upon us, I Warren Hastings, " Governor General, have agreed that the " temporary brigade, and three regiments " of cavalry, be no longer charged to the " Nabobs account for the year Fussellee " 1189, excepting a term for two and a half " months, which is required for their pas- " sing the Nabob's boundaries; and for " which, together with all former allow- " ances and arrears, their usual pay and " allowances are to be made good; also, " that the English Officers, with their " sebundy battalions, and other gentlemen, " excepting the Resident's office, now upon " the Nabob's list, be no longer at his " charge for the year 1189, the arrears " being paid up, with the addition of two " months allowances; the true meaning of " this being, that no more troops be paid " for by the Nabob, than the number of " European artillery and sepoys agreed for " under the title of one brigade, with the " late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah now paid " for at the rate of 2,60,000 rupees (or " £32,500. per month to which is now to " be added one regiment of sepoys of the " present establishment, expressly allowed " for the purpose of protecting the office, " treasury, and person of the Resident at " Lucknow, the pay and allowances of " which shall commence from the first of " Aughun next, at the rate of 25,000 " rupees per month (or £.3,125.) the regi- " ment to be relieved every three months; " also, that the brigade shall be stati- " oned or moved wherever the Nabob shall " direct, in the mode prescribed by the " former treaty with the Nabob Vizier " deceased: And finally, that whenever " the Nabob Vizier shall require a further " aid of troops from the Company, the pay " and allowances shall commence from the " day of their passing the Carumnassa; " also, should the assistance of the Nabob's " troops be required by the Company, their " pay and allowances, as may then be " agreed on, be allowed during the time " they may serve." That thus, by this new treaty, it was settled that the temporary brigade and all other troops, the subsidiary brigade excepted, should be withdrawn; that the subsidiary brigade should be augmented with one regiment of sepoys, for which the Nobob Vizier was to pay at the rate of 25,000 rupees a month, making the whole subsidy amount to two lack and eighty-five thousand rupees or (£35,625) a month, and that whatever further troops might be sent into the country, at the special request of the Nabob Vizier he should pay for at a rate to be agreed upon; and that, in conclusion, it was, by the said treaty declared and agreed, " That the treaties made " between the English and the Nabob " Sujah-ul Dowlah should be ratified be- " tween the present parties, as far as might " be consistent with the above written arti- " cles; and that no officers, troops, or " others, should be put upon the Nabob's " establishment, exclusive of those before " stipulated." That, under the date of the treaty here mentioned of 1781, there was an agreement entered into between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier; in which agreement the Nabob Vizier promised to accept of and conform himself to the advice of the governor general as to the reduction of his expences, and the appropriation of his revenue, but that, in the said advice or agreement, it was " expressly " declared," that " the ultimate object " thereof was the Nabob Vizier's interest " alone, the interest of the English Com- " pany being no further concerned than in " the influence which they will eventually " have in the payment of the debt due from " the Nabob Vizier to the Company." That in the year 1787, Charles Marquis Cornwallis being then governor general under the said East India Company as aforesaid, a new treaty was made, on the twenty-first of July in the said year, between the said Company and the said Nabob Vizier

Asoph ul Dowlah. That this last-mentioned treaty was in form of a letter from Marquis Cornwallis to the Nabob Vizier, the propositions in which letter contained, being accepted in a letter from the Nabob Vizier, became the stipulations of a treaty between the parties aforesaid. That by this treaty it was stipulated, that, "after the "first of March 1787, the whole sum to "be paid annually by the Vizier to the "Company should be fifty lacks of Fyzabad "16 sun rupees (or 600,000l.) including "the charges for the brigades, those of the "residency, the allowance to Saadut Ali "Cawn, and the stipends of the Rohillas; "there should be no excess unless the "Vizier should demand more forces from "the Company; in that case the increase "to be provided for on a fair estimate: "that if either of the two brigades or corps "of cavalry should be recalled or any con-"siderable diminution in their number "should take place, the Company should "allow the Vizier for the decrease of the "expence from the sum of fifty lacks, "agreable to a fair valuation; that the "arrears due to the residency to the troops "to Saadut Ali Cawn, to the Rohillas, and "to Lieutenant Anderson, should be paid "to the 1st of March, but the other arrears "charged to the governor be struck out, "and no longer considered as a demand "of this government on his Excellency; "that a resident should remain at his Ex-"cellency's court; but it being a system "now positively and declaredly established, "that the company should not interfere in "any respect in the details of the Vizier's "government, strict orders should be sent "him neither to interfere himself, nor "suffer any interference, for any public or "private claims of British subjects or per-"sons under our authority; and that the "whole management of the Vizier's "country should be left to his Excellency "and his ministers, and no appeals from "any of its inhabitants be received by the "Company's government." That the said governor general Marquis Cornwallis in council did afterwards in a letter by them addressed to the Secret Committee of the East India Company, dated on the 16th of August 1787, state "that the satisfaction "of the Nabob Vizier at the conduct and "conclusion of this negociation had been "expressed in a letter addressed by him to "the governor general, a copy of which, as "well as of the Kistbundy executed by him, "were enclosed; that upon the whole, "they had every reason to affirm that it "would prove the foundation of a permanent "connection between him and the Com-"pany, being concluded upon principles "of mutual advantage to both; and that "notwithstanding the renunciation of the "large claims of the Company's government "upon the Nabob Vizier, it must in a "pecuniary light be deemed beneficial to "the Company; and that the negociation "would appear conformable to the spirit of "the Company's instructions regarding the "conduct of their government to the Nabob "Vizier." That, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty here mentioned, the said governor general did, amongst other his instructions to Edward Otto Ives, Esq. then resident at Lucknow, strictly enjoin him not to interfere in the internal government of the Nabob Vizier; observing and ordering as follows; to wit: "That an interfe-"rence with the internal government of the "Nabob Vizier's dominions being now un-"necessary, as well as contrary to the "engagements subsisting between us and "the Vizier, you will be careful to avoid "both the reality and appearance of any; "and you will use your endeavours to ac-"quire the confidence of the Vizier and "his ministers, and to convince them, that "we have nothing in view but to render the "connection with Oude of mutual benefit "to both parties." That an account of the conducting and of the result of these negociations, between the Nabob Vizier and the Marquis Cornwallis, having been communicated to the said East India Company, the Court of Directors of the said Comyany by a letter to the said governor general in Council, dated on the eighth of April 1789, did "approve of the general arrangement, and "of the principles upon which it was fram-"ed," and did express their satisfaction, that "the nature of the connection with the "Nabob Vizier was now accurately defined, "the defence of Oude being as signed to the "British troops under a fixed subsidy, and "the internal government of the country "remaining with the Nabob Vizier." That thus the Nabob Vizier paying an annual subsidy of 600,000l. to the East India Company, the connection between the Company and the Nabob Vizier did continue uninterrupted and unaltered for the space of ten years. That, in the year 1797, Sir John Shore, Bart. (now Lord Teignmouth) being the then governor general under the said East India Company, it having been found necessary to augment the Company's forces, and "the "governor general having represented to "his Excellency the Nabob Vizier, the "late very great increase of the Company's "establishments, by the addition of several

" regiments of cavalry, both European and " Native; and having, in compliance with " the Company's order, solicited his excel- " lency's assistance to defray the consequent " additional expense," it was stipulated, in an agreement made at Lucknow, in the month of March, in the year last-mention- ed, between the said governor general and the Nabob Vizier, that, " his excellency " the Nabob Vizier, in the fullest reliance " that the Company's troops are ever ready, " in conformity to existing circumstances, " to protect and defend his dominions " against the attacks of all his enemies, will " annually defray the actual bonâ fide ex- " penses of a regiment of Europeans and " one of Native cavalry (that is to say) two " regiments (the amount of which ex- " penses, the governor general cannot at " present specify) provided they shall not " exceed, upon every account, five lacks " and a half of rupees per annum. The " amount to be defrayed by monthly instal- " ments, of which the first shall commence " with the month of Bysade of the present " Fussiley year." That, in the year 1797, the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah died, and was, for a short space, succeeded in the musnud (or throne) by a pretended son, named Vizier Ally Cawn, who, through the aid of the elder Begum and of the great Aumil Almas Ali Cawn, usurped the throne to the prejudice of the rightful heir Saadut Ali Cawn, brother of the late Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah. That, by the aid of the English East India Company, the usurper was dethroned, and Saadut Ali Cawn was placed on the throne on the 21st of January, 1798. That, on the 21st of February in the year last-mentioned, a new treaty was made at Lucknow, between the said Nabob Vizier Saadut Ali Cawn, on the one part, and the said East India Company on the other part, the said Sir John Shore being still the go- vernor general as aforesaid. That, in the treaty here mentioned, it was stipulated, that, as the English Company had " incur- " red a considerable expense by their exer- " tions to restore the Nabob Vizier to the " possession of his rights, he, the said Na- " bob Vizier should, in consideration there- " of, pay to the Company the sum of twelve " lacs of rupees;" and further, it was in the said treaty stipulated, that, " with a view " to enable the English Company to fulfil " their engagements to defend the domi- " nions of the Nabob Vizier, and at the " same time to provide for the protection of " their own dominions, the Company having " largely increased their military establish- " ments by new levied regiments for that " purpose;" that the annual subsidy paid to the Company by the Nabob Vizier should be augmented from fifty-five and a half to seventy-six lacs of rupees (or £950,000) including the stipends to the Begums and others, and which subsidy the Nabob Vizier was to pay by monthly kists (or instalments) each instalment being in amount equal to a twelfth part of the whole annual subsidy; and further, it was in the said treaty stipulated as to the Company's troops to be maintained in the principality of Oude, for its defence, that the said troops shou d " never consist of less than ten " thousand men, including Europeans and " natives, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; " and that if, at any time, it should become " necessary to augment the troops of the " Company in Oude beyond the number of " thirteen thousand men, including Euro- " peans and natives, infantry, cavalry, and " artillery, the Nabob Saadut Ali Cawn " should pay the actual difference occasion- " ed by the excess above that number; and " that in the same manner, if the troops of " the Company of Oude, from any neces- " sity, should be less than eight thousand " men, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, " natives, and Europeans, a deduction should " be made from the annual stipend of seventy- " six lacs of rupees, equal to the actual dif- " ference of men below the specified num- " ber;" And further, it was in the said treaty stipulated, with regard to security for the regular payment of the kists as afore- said, that, " as the payment of the Com- " pany's troops in Oude depends upon the " regular discharge of the subsidy, stated in " the second and third articles of the treaty, " the said Nabob engages to exert his ut- " most endeavours to discharge the stipu- " lated kists with punctuality; but that if, " contrary to the sincere intentions and " exertions of the said Nabob, the payment " of the kists should fall into arrear, the " said Nabob Saadut Ali Cawn engages and " promises that he will then give such se- " curity to the Company for the discharge " of the existing arrears, and the future re- " gular payment of the kists, as shall be " deemed satisfactory." And further, in the said treaty it was stipulated, with respect to reductions of expense in the government of the Nabob Vizier, that " the subsidy to " the Company being now considerably in- " creased, and many other permanent " charges upon his excellency being incur- " red, on a comparison of his disbursements " with the assets or pecuniary means of his " country, it becomes necessary to make " such reductions in the superfluous charges

" of the public establishments, servants, " &c. as may be requisite, and are consist- " ent with his excellency's dignity and con- " venience, and to that end the said Nabob " agrees to consult with the Company's go- " vernment, and, in concert with them, " devise the proper objects of such reduc- " tions, and the best means of effecting " them." And, lastly, in the said treaty it was stipulated, as to the management of the internal affairs of the principality of Oude, that " all transactions between the " two states should be carried on with the " greatest cordiality and harmony on both " sides, and that the Nabob Vizier should " possess full authority over his household " affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, " and his subjects." That the terms of the said treaty were highly advantageous to the English Company, not only as enabling them to defray almost the whole increased expense of their military establishment, and having added in perpetuity to the possessions of the Company the important fortress of Allahabad, which was to be put in a state of defence at the expense of the Nabob Vizier, but did greatly aid the said Company in their commercial concerns, as appears in a letter from the governor general in council to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, dated on the 5th of March, 1798, and of which advantages the Court of Directors were fully sensible, as appears by their answer to the extract last quoted, of their political letter to the Governor General Marquis Wellesley, dated the 15th day of May, in the year 1799; wherein they observe, that " the governor general's minute of the 5th " of March, 1798, contains a very satisfac- " tory explanation of the variations between " the terms of the previous engagement " executed by Saadut Alli at Benares, and " those of the definitive treaty concluded at " Lucknow. By the latter the Company's " influence over the Vizier's country ap- " pears to be sufficiently preserved without " the insertion of any article that might be " deemed offensive; and we have the fur- " ther satisfaction to find, that, exclusive of " the immediate payment of twelve lacs of " rupees (or £150,000 sterling) by the " Nabob Vizier, his annual subsidy is in- " creased upwards of twenty lacs of rupees, " (or £250,000) besides the acquisition of " a fortress in the Oude dominions of the " greatest consequence in the scale of ge- " neral defence;" and in the same letter they add, that " having taken this general " view of the subject, with a minute atten- " tion however to all the papers and pro- " ceedings, we are, upon the whole, de- " cidedly of opinion, that the late governor " general, Lord Teignmouth, in a most ar- " duous situation, and under circumstances " of much delicacy and embarrassment, con- " ducted himself with great temper, im- " partiality, ability, and firmness, and " that he finished a long course of faithful " services, by planning and carrying into " execution an arrangement which not only " redounds highly to his own honour, but " which will also operate to the reciprocal " advantage of the Company and the Na- " bob Vizier."——That the character and conduct of the said Nabob Vizier Saadut Ali Cawn was, in letters from the governor general, and from the governor general in council to the secret committee aforesaid, bearing date on the said 5th of March, 1798, thus described: " His talents and capacity, " though moderate, are not mean; his ha- " bits of economy are strong, and approach- " ing to parsimony; his conduct during his " residence at Benares, was reserved and " correct; in all his dealings he was fair " and just; if some moral defects are im- " puted to him, they are not exposed to " general observation. His conduct since " his accession has been dignified and con- " ciliatory; and indeed, in all respects, re- " gulated by the strictest propriety; and it " is with sincere pleasure we acquaint you, " that the most perfect tranquillity prevailed " at Oude at the time of the governor ge- " neral's departure therefrom, and that there " was no ground whatever to apprehend its " being disturbed."——That such and so auspicious was the state of affairs in Oude, and such its connection with the East India Company when Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley arrived in India, and entered upon his functions as aforesaid in the month of May, 1798; that is to say, three months after the date of the treaty so happily concluded, and so strongly approved of as aforesaid.——That, by an act passed in the year 1784, being the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, it was declared and enacted, that, " Whereas to pursue " schemes of conquest and extension of do- " minion in India are measures repugnant " to the wish, the honour, and policy of " this nation.

To be Continued.

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